635 f) Hsing-i (District administrative office at Hsing-i), 10 counties: Hsing-i, P'an, P'u-an, Ch'ing-lung, Hsing-jen, Kuan-jen, Kuan-ling, Chen-feng, Wang-mu, Ts'e-heng, An-lung.

g) An-shun (District administrative office at An-shun), 6 counties: An-shun, Tzu-yün, Chen-ning, Lang-tai, P'u-ting, P'ing-pa.

h) Pi-chieh (District administrative office at Pi-chieh), 9 counties: Pi-chieh, Ta-ting, Chin-sha, Ch'ien-hsi, Chih-chin, Na-yung, Shui-ch'eng, Wei-ning, Ho-chang.

In examining the nature and functions of local governments from the Municipality down to the county and hsiang level, it is found that since the Communist regime, there has been a radical change. While a laissez-faire policy characterized under the Republic and Kuomintang period the political scene, now the Communists put stesss on organizing people of every municipality, county, or hsiang, and each individual is under surveillance.

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT OF THE MUNICIPALITY, COUNTY, AND HSIANG

A. The Municipality

633 The Communist regime pays a great deal of attention to city life, because industrial enter-

prises and, consequently, the laboring classes are concentrated there. In this region, Chungking was, at first, one of the seven municipalities which were under the direct control of the central government. After the promulgation of the Constitution, the control over the Chungking municipality was transferred and placed again under the Government of Szechwan, with the same status as ordinary municipalities in other provinces.

A municipal People's council consists of a mayor, a number of deputy-mayors, and from 9 to 25 members, but in a municipality where the population is especially dense, the members of the council can be increased to 45.

The municipal People's congress is governed by Article 16 of the electoral law of the People's Republic of China. "A municipality with a population not exceeding 100,000 shall elect one deputy for every 500 to 1,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 100,000 and up to 350,000 shall elect one deputy for every 1,000 to 2,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 350,000 and up to 750,000 shall elect one deputy for every 2,000 to 3,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 750,000 and up to 1,500,000 shall elect one deputy for every 3,000 to 5,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 1,500,000 shall elect one deputy for every 5,000 to 7,000 persons. The number of deputies to a municipal people's congress shall be not less than 50 and more than 800."

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633 According to Article 17 of the same law, the armed forces are entitled to elect from 2 to 10 deputies to the municipal People's congress.

An advertisement[13] of the Chungking Municipality published in the Chungking newspapers on January 6, 1952 asked the citizens of the city to take part in the election and to give their suggestions to the delegates. It also gave the agenda of subjects which were to be discussed in the coming session: (1) a report of work done in 1951 and the tasks to be done in 1952; (2) examination and approval of the budget and the financial statement; (3) debates on the suggestions made by the people; (4) election of the mayor, the deputy-mayors, and the members of the government. This list shows clearly the operation of the municipal People's congress. But at the first session of the Municipal Congress in Chungking, called before the opening of the National Congress, besides the works mentioned above, both the National Congress and the Provincial Congress had to be elected. The Municipal People's Representative Conference had gone through three stages. In the first stage it consisted of members recommended by professional groups, the different parties and popular organizations. In the second stage the members of the Conference were given the right to elect the mayor and the deputy-mayors. In the third stage, from 1954 on, the members have been further given the right of electing the delegates to the National and provincial congresses, and they are now elected

13. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, January 6, 1952.

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in sectional meetings throughout the city. They are still not elected by direct popular vote.

B. The County

634 Under the Republic and the Kuomintang, a county was run mostly by a single person called the magistrate, though at times he was also assisted by a few department heads of his own choice. Now, the county people's council, according to the Communist Constitution, consists of a Head, a deputy-Head, from 21 to 31 members, and 10 heads of administrative departments, namely (1) civil affairs, (2) public security, (3) finance, (4) grain, (5) taxes, (6) industry and commerce, (7) agriculture and forestry, (8) transportation, (9) culture and education, and (10) health; with others to be added when necessary.

As a concrete example, the Representatives' Conference of Lung Chang county is described below, though it was an institution of the pre-Constitution stage. In Lung Chang the first session of the Sixth Representatives' Conference convened from December 1-5, 1951. It consisted of reprsentatives who were recommended by the different occupational groups. In the first period, the voters did not appreciate the right of suffrage which had been given to them. When they were asked to go through the different stages of election, they considered it a sheer waste of time. As a result, the method of recommendation by the different groups and decision by mutual

634 negotiations was adopted. However, the debate in the session was found to be very useful because a great deal of misunderstanding due to conflict of interests among the different groups was cleared up. After the session, a standing committee was set up to supervise the handling of the resolutions passed and to be the liaison between the citizens at large, the congress, and the government.

C. The Hsiang

633 A hsiang council can have a head, a deputy-head, 3 to 31 members, and also four or five department heads.

On the national and provincial levels, power is in the hands of administrative organs, but on the county, the hsiang, and the municipality levels, power is exercised by both (1) the administrative organs and (2) the organizations of the people themselves.

The People's Congress on a county or hsiang level exercises the same functions as the Provincial Congress, which is covered by the Article 58 of the Constitution:

1. to ensure the observance and execution of laws and decrees;
2. to draw up plans for local, economic, and cultural development and for public works;
3. to examine and approve local budgets and financial reports;

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4. to protect public property;
5. to maintain public order;
6. to safeguard the rights of citizens and the equal rights of national minorities.

Article 59 stipulates that the congress elects and is empowered to recall the members of the government on the hsiang level.

The departments under the hsiang head are as follows: (1) civil affairs, (2) security, (3) militia, (4) producer's co-operatives, (5) finance and grain, (6) culture and education, (7) conciliation. Besides the above, there are also voluntary associations: (1) Joint Association of Commerce and Industry, (2) Democratic Youth League, (3) Student Union, (4) Democratic Women's Association (5) Housewives League, (6) Inhabitants League or Street's League.

As a concrete example of hsiang government, a report on Kao Tai Hsiang in the county of Pa can be given.

From December 1951 to April 1953, there were sixteen sessions of conferences. 80 per cent of the population took part in the voting. The people were interested in the proceedings of the conferences and even demanded the dismissal of a few members of the hsiang government. Resolutions for making ditches and for the prevention of floods were passed and put into practice by the people of the hsiang.[14]

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14. New China Daily, May 17, 1953.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

361 caused the wall to collapse, whereupon magistrate Fan Hao-jen 樊好仁 repaired or rebuilt it. In the 58th year (1793) it fell again, but this time an order was received not to rebuild it. In the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873) the Provincial Governor, Ch'en Yü-ying 岑毓英, petitioned for permission to construct a brick wall. The east gate was called Hsiang-jih 向日 (Facing the sun), the south gate, Ying-en 迎恩; the west gate, Fu-yüan 服遠; the north gate, Kung-chi 拱極 (Saluting the polar star). The small west gate was called Yin-yü 飲玉 [Swallowing the Jade (dragon mountain) gate]."

To-day no wall remains save a small section east and north of the yamen, in the north-east corner of the town, and even that is in ruins.

THE PRESENT PREFECTURE AND TOWN OF LI-CHIANG

●633 361 *The present boundaries.* — The prefecture of Li-chiang lies between two large rivers, the Yangtze (Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江) and the Mekong, (Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江, also written Lang-ts'ang Chiang 浪滄江; this latter name is more commonly used in Li-chiang). The prefecture is divided into six ch'ü 區 (sub-districts) and 23½ li 里 (now called hsiang 鄉). (A *li* 里 is a group of villages situated usually around a larger central one after which the *li* is named. It might be termed a commune or a borough.) The first ch'ü comprises the li Ta-yen 大研, Pai-ma 白馬 and Tung-yüan 東元里; the second, Pai-sha 白沙, Shu-ho (pronounced *Ssu* in Li-chiang) 東河, La-sha 剌沙, La-shih 剌是 and Mu-pao 木保; the third, La-p'iao 剌標 with its two divisions of Shang 上 and Hsia 下, Nan-shan 南山, Ch'i-ho 七河, Wu-lieh 吳烈 and Tung-ni-lo 東你羅; the fourth, Shih-ku 石鼓, A-hsi 阿喜, Hsiang-ko 香閣 and Chiu-ho 九河; the fifth, Chü-tien 巨甸, Lu-tien 魯甸 and Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭; the sixth, Ta-chü 大具, La-pao 剌寶, Tung-shan 東山里; and the half-li Tung-hsiang-ko 東香閣.

The present Li-chiang prefecture is bordered on the east by the prefecture of Yung-sheng (Yung-pei); north-east by the Mu-li T'u-ssu 木裏土司 of Hsi-k'ang and the adjoining Yung-ning; south by the prefecture of Ho-ch'ing; south-west by the prefecture of Chien-ch'uan; west by the two prefectures of Lan-p'ing and Wei-hsi; north by the prefecture of Chung-tien.

The distances of the present prefecture to its borders, reckoned from the prefectural city of Li-chiang, are as follows: to the Yung-sheng border at Ching-li or Tzu-li-chiang 梓里江, where exists the only bridge over the Yangtze 130 li; south to Ho-ch'ing 80 li; west to Lan-p'ing 250 li; to the border of Wei-hsi 450 li; north to the border of Chung-tien 60 li.

The distance from Li-chiang to K'un-ming, capital of the province, is 1,240 li, in 18 stages. Since the construction of a motor road to Ta-li, Li-chiang can be reached in eight days (1938). A motor road to Li-chiang is also under construction (1939). It was not completed in 1944 when I last left Li-chiang.

The town of Li-chiang. — Li-chiang (beautiful river) (PLATE 50) is known as Yi-gv to the Na-khi of outlying districts such as La-bpu and the villages on the banks of the Yangtze. The Na-khi of the Li-chiang plain, however, always speak of the town as Ngu-bă. One meaning of the word *ngu* is a very large box, and *bă* means to do, to make. The size of the town is thus compared to a very large box, and *bă* means that everything is obtainable therein. Another mean-

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633 ing of *ngu*[2] is to carry, as a load on the back, and *bä* would refer to business,
361 thus *ngu-bä* would mean to carry a load to be sold, as on the Li-chiang market (PLATE 51), and this seems to be the better explanation of the two.

The actual Yi-gv, however, the name which is applied to-day to Li-chiang, is a very small village situated in a little valley back of the larger village called Gyi-wùa, the Chinese Ch'ing-ch'i-ts'un 清溪村. Here water-springs issue over quite an area and these flow south, but not through the town of Li-chiang. These springs are called in Na-khi, Ssi or Ssä-mi gyi (Pomegranate water). The spring which issues at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), and which forms the pond in the temple grounds of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟, is called Ngu-lu gyi by the Na-khi.

361 It is possible that the very first Na-khi settlement in this region was where the tiny hamlet of Yi-gv is now situated, for the Na-khi are also called Yi-gv khi (People of Yi-gv). The name Yi-gv was probably only later applied to their capital, the Chinese Li-chiang. The name Li-shui 麗水 (Beautiful waters) was first given to the district during the T'ang dynasty when it had been conquered by the Meng shih 蒙氏 (Meng family) in 794. Li Shui was also the name of the Yangtze, which further bore the name of Shen Ch'uan 神川. The name of Li-chiang does not appear until the Mongol dynasty in 1271. This name has been retained to the present day for the district, as well as for the town. The Li-chiang district numbers 28,375 families or a total of 132,582 inhabitants. Of these 68,216 are male and 64,366 female, and, according to the census of 1931, of the total population only 5,340 men and 170 women were literate.

131 The town is situated in latitude 27° 10′, according to Major Davies; in latitude 26° 52′, and longitude 100° 27′, according to Playfair. The Army Map Service *Gazetteer of Chinese Place Names based on V. K. Ting Atlas* gives longitude 100° 15′, latitude 26° 51′. Its altitude is 8,200 feet. It is situated at the foot, that is, at the southernmost point, of the long limestone range of Hsiang Shan. The range extends north and divides the Li-chiang plain in half, the western part extending towards Nga-ba, an ancient lake bottom from which it is separated by a spur called Dza-dza mbu.

THE COMMUNES OF LI-CHIANG

361 *Pai-sha li.* — The villages situated on the western part of the plain belong
101 to Pai-sha li, that is, south of and including the village to the west, Hsi-wen-ts'un 西文村, and Tung-wen-ts'un 東文村 on the east. They are called in Na-khi, Mbe-man nyi-mä-gv and Mbe-man nyi-mä-t'u respectively. Pai-sha, the Na-khi Boa-shi, is the largest village of Pai-sha li.[3] (PLATE 52.)

Shu-ho li. — The villages south of Pai-sha li, as far as the road which leads over Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain) — the Gkaw-gku of the Na-khi — belong to Shu-ho li 東河里, of which Shu-ho, the Shwua-wùa of the Na-khi, is the largest village. The lamasery of P'u-chi Ssu 普濟寺 belongs to this li;

[2] When the word is used by itself, it is read *gu*, but in conjunction with other words in a sentence, or in a name as here, Ngu-bä, it is pronounced *ngu* instead of *gu*.

[3] Since this was written the Communes are called Hsiang 鄉.